

The Politics of Land Grabbing: Dispossession and Depeasantization in A Coastal Village of Bali

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Received: January 6, 2024 | Revised: September 11, 2025 | Accepted: September 11, 2025 | Online Publication: September 18, 2025

ABSTRACT

This study aims to reveal the existence of land grabbing that leads to depeasantization, taking a case study in a village on the southern coast of Tabanan District, Bali Province called Pangkung Tibah Village. In this village, investors have transferred ownership of the productive peasants' land with plans to develop an integrated tourism area. This study is interesting because most studies on agrarian affairs focusing on Bali only focus on land conversion. This study will contribute to the topic of depeasantization. The method used in this study is qualitative with a case study approach. There are three informants involved in this study: the primary informant being the Head of Pangkung Tibah Village and two first-generation peasant who were subak administrators. Data analysis in this study combines in-depth interview data collection, observation, and spatial data analysis. Triangulation of the three techniques helps researchers process data and present it into research themes. The results of this study indicate that the land grabbing process occurred in the 1990s, marked by the massive transfer of land ownership to investors. Peasant was thrown from their subsistence production methods and experienced semi-proletarian conditions. The changing culture of peasant households also contributed to depeasantization.

Keywords: depeasantization, dispossession, land grabbing, semi-proletarization

INTRODUCTION

The transformation of agricultural land into non-agricultural land is becoming increasingly inevitable due to the escalating demand for land in a continuously expanding economic growth context. Economic development necessitates substantial land requirements and results in the expansion of the non-agricultural economic sector. This demand has led to alterations in land use patterns, with a greater proportion of land formerly designated for agriculture than for non-agricultural purposes. This alteration typically focuses on the service sector (Sidipurwany, 2016). There is a growing need for land, particularly to meet the development requirements of the tourism services industry. The primary catalyst for land conversion is the development of specific sectors, leading to the conversion of agricultural land into non-agricultural land (Shohibuddin, 2019).

The extent of this advancement requires allocating a significant amount of land for various purposes, including residential, industrial, and other facilities and infrastructure. Therefore, agricultural land must be transformed into non-agricultural land, especially in suburban areas. These advancements have minimally affected the lifestyle of peasants, who encounter escalating difficulties and are frequently forced to relinquish their land. This results from permitting policies that facilitate the alteration of land functions via Regional Spatial Plans (RTRW) at the district or city level. Development interests facilitate modifications in land use (Sumardjono, 2009).

The rising demand for land results in alterations in agriculture, exacerbating confrontations between developmental and agricultural interests. The previous emphasis on agrarian concerns mostly centred on landowners and peasants; however, it has since broadened to include the government, capital owners or investors, and the community, particularly peasants. The original faction, consisting of the government and capital owners, typically addresses the issue by eliminating the group of peasants. Bali is one of the many areas affected by this issue. The expansion of commodity crops, particularly palm oil, poses a considerable challenge in several areas of Indonesia. The rapid transformation of land due to the growth of tourism development is a particular issue in Bali.

The expansion of Bali's tourist sector is supported by Law No. 9 of 1990, a crucial component of the nation's development strategy. This legislation underscores the significance of safeguarding local traditions and customs. The prioritization of tourism as a development strategy has led to land alteration, mostly for establishing facilities that serve tourists, including hotels, villas, and restaurants. The transformation began in the 1980s in the southern region, particularly the coastal areas of Bali, starting with Kuta, Sanur, and Nusa Dua, and then advancing westward to the Canggu district, then to Tanah Lot and most of the southern coastal areas of Tabanan (Pramestisari, 2022). Tourism has significantly contributed to the community's economic development. Nevertheless, it has also negatively affected society and the environment. The condition is ascribed to the dominance of market-oriented ideologies among stakeholders in the tourism sector (Suryadana, 2013).

The tourism industry, driven by capitalists' intent on money accumulation, has aimed to transform the town's physical and socio-economic characteristics. Control over the landscape is achieved by transferring ownership or converting agricultural land into tourism facilities, including hotels and resorts. This tourism hotel was built by leveraging the natural topography to create income. Pangkung Tibah, a beachfront village in the Tabanan coastline region, is a destination of interest for investors aiming to establish a tourism hub. The residents no longer own an estimated 140 hectares of the village's 199 hectares. Ownership has shifted to tourism investors (Adhinata, 2022). The ownership transfer began in late 1989 and was finalized by 1992 with total occupancy. The conveyance of land ownership to investors was intricately associated with transforming Tabanan's southern coastal region into a new tourism complex akin to the Nusa Dua tourism sector.

Land transfer is a significant topic in agrarian studies and has been thoroughly incorporated into several research initiatives in this domain. The agrarian issue is closely connected to the social transformations that have taken place within the agricultural community. The study conducted by Pratiwi and Rondhi (2018) on the distribution of agricultural land ownership and farming revenue in urban areas of Jember District sheds light on the topic of changes in ownership of the primary means of production, such as land. This study provides evidence of the presence of inequality. The study's findings indicate that there have been alterations in the pattern and distribution of agricultural land tenure in urban regions. The exorbitant rental value of agricultural property precipitates its conversion, resulting in inequities in agricultural land ownership.

Alterations in the allocation of land ownership impact peasants' income since agricultural land constitutes a significant asset for peasants. This study demonstrates the correlation between land conversion and the distribution of land ownership, which subsequently influences peasants's income. The data reveals peasant's disparity in land ownership and income distribution (Pratiwi & Rondhi, 2018). A shift in land ownership might influence its function as it adjusts to align with the preferences and objectives of the new proprietors. The food industry could carry out land acquisition (White et al., 2012) and other industries involved in the tourism sector (Hampton & Jeyacheya, 2015). The land acquisition in Pangkung Tibah Village represents a form of land appropriation, however it serves different purposes than extractive plantations and mining operations. Land acquisition that supports the tourism sector can be categorized as green appropriation, precisely denoting the procurement of land for conservation and tourism purposes (Fairhead et al., 2012).

Christian et al (2018) discovered a correlation between corporations and the state in the land-grabbing process on Pari Island, Thousand Islands. This correlation was established by exploiting the residents' lack of knowledge about the formal property system. Consequently, this manipulation reinforced the pseudo-legal framework of the land acquisition process. The corporate-state capitalist dynamics in land grabbing on Pari Island create a novel arena for capitalist activities. The formation of this new space is based on the process of primitive accumulation, which involves depriving a person of their means of production and rendering them landless. This condition is the fundamental basis for capital accumulation within the tourism business. The objective is to eliminate fishing communities from participating in managing resources on Pari Island (Christian et al., 2018).

The local government facilitates corporate industrial development projects that involve land acquisition and capital accumulation. In the Bolok industrial sector of Kupang, Dhosa (2019) discovered that the process of capital accumulation through land seizures involves corporate acquisitions facilitated by government support. Acquisitions were also achieved on the Java Island, by implementing strategic tactics using "lure" and "tourism" politics. Subsequently, a disparity in land ownership arose, resulting in the exclusion of peasants from their farmed plots. Furthermore, the corporate co-optation of different actors suppresses the local community and undermines the efficacy of critical consciousness (Dhosa, 2019). The growth of the tourism sector facilitates the transfer of property ownership and can lead to land conversion. In his study on land use changes in Teluk Bakau Village, Riau Archipelago, Miswanto (2018) stated that tourism investors acquire land before constructing tourism accommodations such as hotels, restaurants, and villas. Investors currently possess and have authority over 80% of the land in Teluk Bakau Village. Due to investors' control over the beach, fishermen have trouble finding a place to dock their canoes because of this territory's dominance and transformation of society (Miswanto, 2018).

Research on agrarian issues in Bali mostly centers on land conversion associated with tourism development, addressing problems of urbanization linked to this transformation (Ramadhan & Murti, 2024; Sudarma et al., 2024). The village retains its agrarian identity and population of peasants actively involved in continuous agricultural production. However, the agrarian community's role in supporting the village has diminished. The community comprises individuals who are not genuine landowners but rather pseudo-peasants cultivating fields they do not own. Deagrarianization significantly threatens the erosion of peasants' productive resources. The cessation of agricultural practices in future generations stems directly from the relinquishment of land ownership. By the third generation, the agrarian community has increasingly integrated with specialized non-agricultural enterprises (Pujiriyani et al., 2018). Numerous prior studies have examined land grabbing, particularly in Bali, demonstrating a transition from agricultural to non-agricultural land use. Nonetheless, research focusing on land grabbing associated with depeasantization in Bali remains underexplored. This study aims to address the existing research gap on this subject. This study questions how the land grabbing process triggers depeasantization in Pangkung Tibah Village

METHODS

The research employed a qualitative methodology. This method is deemed suitable since it facilitates the exploration and understanding of the significance that different individuals and groups attribute to the social situations they encounter. Qualitative research enables the creation of narratives from the subject, with the researcher serving as a conduit. The informants' perspectives and viewpoints constitute the basis for knowledge development (Creswell, 2010). The case study methodology was used for this study because it enables researchers to concentrate their investigation on a specific location, thereby

facilitating a comprehensive analysis of events and phenomena. This approach allows for collecting thorough and extensive data from primary and secondary sources (Yin, 2009). The data in this study were acquired via comprehensive interviews with a carefully chosen group of informants using purposive sampling. The informants included the Head of Pangkung Tibah Village, the Subak Management, and the three peasants involved in the land ownership transfer. The interviews were performed using a combination of semi-structured and open interview techniques. In addition, the interviews were transcribed, and data selection was conducted to choose pertinent and necessary information for the study. Once the data has been chosen, it is further categorized into certain themes and then shown in a manner that allows for the formulation of conclusions. To validate the data, the technique used was to combine statements from the informants lived experiences with field observations and spatial data. This was done to ensure that the research findings accurately reflect the reality of the phenomenon being studied.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Overview of Pangkung Tibah Village

Pangkung Tibah Village is located inside the administrative confines of the Kediri Sub-District, encompassing around 199 hectares. Through direct observation at the research site and analysis of historical circumstances, this hamlet has undergone significant progress, including the construction of hotels to accommodate tourists. Initially, agriculture and capture fisheries were the principal activities sustaining the economy and livelihoods of rural residents. A slight shift has occurred in economic and livelihood activities towards the tourism, trade, and services sectors. The development of the seaside village area, which has fostered the expansion of the tourism sector, is attributable to its incorporation in the Tabanan District Spatial Plan (RTRW) for 2012-2023. This plan recognizes Pangkung Tibah Village as a component of the Tanah Lot Special Tourist Attraction Area (KDTWK).

Due to its coastal location, the southern section of the hamlet, near the sea, is expected to witness an increase in tourism because of the continuous development of the coastal area. According to the data from the Pangkung Tibah Village profile, the population in 2020 was 1,322 individuals. Three hundred twenty-one individuals, being most of the population, are predominantly engaged in agriculture. Furthermore, there are 244 individuals employed as agricultural laborers, 231 in the commercial sector, and 27 in government positions. The remaining population primarily participates in various secondary occupations, including transportation, woodworking, and trade. According to the employment data, agriculture is the predominant occupation in Pangkung Tibah Village. Despite agriculture's predominance, it does not imply that landowners constitute most of the local population. A substantial proportion of the agricultural assets in Pangkung Tibah are being managed by entities external to the community, indicating a shift in either capital or land ownership. This is the result of numerous prominent financial investors entering the small community with the intent of transforming it into a tourism hub.

Land Acquisition in Pangkung Tibah Village

The extensive transfer of land ownership in Pangkung Tibah Village began in the late 1980s and early 1990s. The process reportedly occurred from 1989 to 1992, during which the Regent of Tabanan held the position of military commander.

“Two investors have come to the village to purchase land earmarked for developing tourism facilities. The two investors are PT. Central Tunasbumi Lestari and PT. Purimas Straits Resort. The investor found a 154-hectare tract of property for purchasing. The land acquisition process began by contacting residents and obtaining consent from the landowners whose properties the investor aimed to acquire. Varied perspectives arose within the community; some embraced the initiative while others declined to sell their land. The investor informed the landowning community that the acquired land was intended for development into an integrated tourism area, akin to the BTDC Nusa Dua region, which would create new employment opportunities in the tourism sector for the local populace.” (Subawa, Village Chief, 2021, interview).

The interview clip reveals that land acquisition in Pangkung Tibah Village commenced in the early 1990s, as stated by Mr. Subawa, the current Head of the village. Two investors sought to purchase agricultural property owned by people to develop a tourism accommodation area.

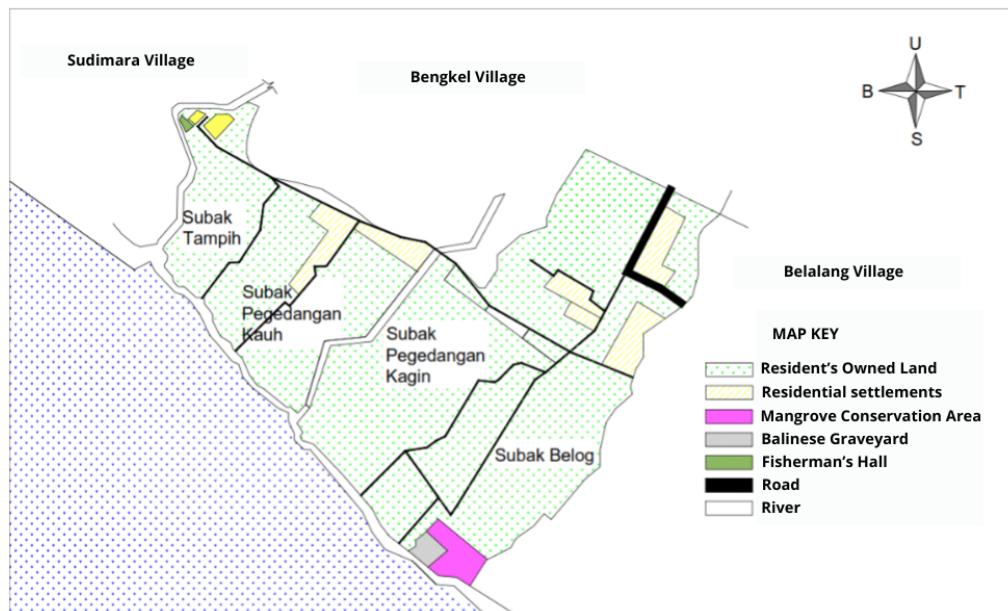


Figure 1. Map of Pangkung Tibah Village in 1989. Source: Agusintadewi et al. (2023)

The graphic above demonstrates that before the substantial transfer of ownership, specifically before 1989, the property was still under the possession of the farming community. Pangkung Tibah Village has a total area of 199 hectares, with a direct coastal location in the southern half. As per the investors' plan for release or purchase, 154 hectares were pursued, but they have only acquired 140 hectares of land. Meanwhile, there were roughly 14 hectares that were not effectively acquired because of resistance from landowners who refused to give or sell their land (Agusintadewi et al., 2023; Purba, 2020).

“When the investor acquired the residents' land, the investor promised the residents the opportunity to open businesses supporting tourism activities on the land that would later be built as a tourism area. The promise was given to residents willing to release their land, which would be compensated for the sale of 1.2 million rupiah per acre, and they would receive one kiosk for each acre sold.” (Karniti, Peasant, 2021, Interview).

As conveyed in the interview excerpt above, one of the peasants witnessed investors offering compensation to landowners willing to sell their land. Investors commonly portray farming as a laborious economic endeavor with limited profitability, thus suggesting that working in the tourism sector is a more advantageous choice. The land acquisition also entailed the military's involvement in its seizure. During this period, the military, particularly the army, arrived in the area to forcibly evict several farming groups that refused to sell their land. The army's objective in approaching the community was to exert intimidation and intervention, thereby inducing the local populace to sell their land willingly. During the night, the army visited the residences of individuals who refused to sell their land. Following that, the military transported numerous people in military trucks to a building in the city of Tabanan for questioning (Subawa, Village Chief, 2021, Interview). After the site acquisition, there was a lack of observable progress in constructing tourism accommodation, which had been pledged before. The condition remains unchanged, with no progress or development. As a result, neighbors refer to it as a vacant lot, as no construction has occurred. When Indonesia experienced the economic crisis in 1997, it also hampered the progress in the development of tourism areas. Currently, the land that has been acquired still lacks the necessary infrastructure for tourism. Furthermore, the land ownership has been transferred from one investor to another.

Currently, major investors who own land in Pangkung Tibah Village are PT. Ciputra Development which has an area named Ciputra Beach Resort with an area of 80 hectares and PT. Bali Sudamala Development which has an area named Belong Bali with an area of 32 hectares. In addition, several

small investors come in and rent land to large investors such as PT. Tampih Griya Wisata which has a one-hectare tourist accommodation called Glamping Beach Resort. There are also plans for several investors who are willing to buy the southern coast area of Pangkung Tibah Village such as Potato Head-Kamatama, The Ritz Charlton, and Rosewood Hotels & Resort.

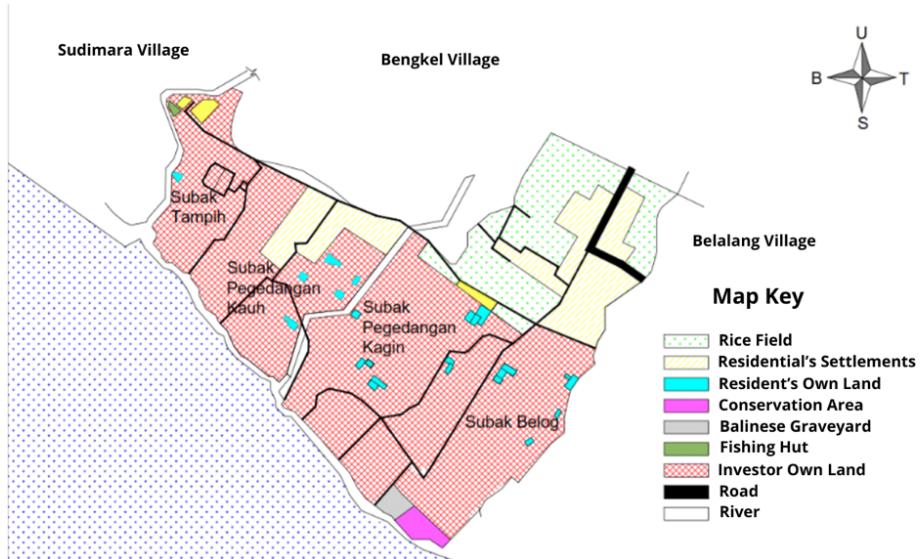


Figure 2. Map of Pangkung Tibah Village in 2021. Source: Agusintadewi et al. (2023)

The graphic above illustrates the current condition of the Pangkung Tibah Village area. The property that has seen a transfer of ownership is marked in red. It is obvious that investors now fully own most of this village's southern coastal area. These investors can be categorized into two groups: the primary investors, who own up to 80 hectares of land, and the remaining investors, who own approximately 32 hectares of land. The principal investor previously mentioned owns most of the land in Pangkung Tibah Village. This verifies the occurrence of a significant transfer of land ownership and utilization facilitated by investors with the backing of the local administration.

According to assessments conducted via the Bhumi map application, which is managed by the Ministry of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning, land ownership data in Pangkung Tibah Village reveals 1,201 plots with ownership rights, 817 plots with building use rights, 26 plots with use rights, 1 plot with management rights, and 313 plots classified as empty or unregistered land. The land ownership distribution indicates that residents possess 50.93% of the total land area. Ownership rights about building use held by investors at a rate of 34.65%. Usage rights constitute 1.10%, management rights account for 0.04%, and vacant or unregistered land represents 13.27%. The proportion of land area is illustrated in the subsequent diagram.

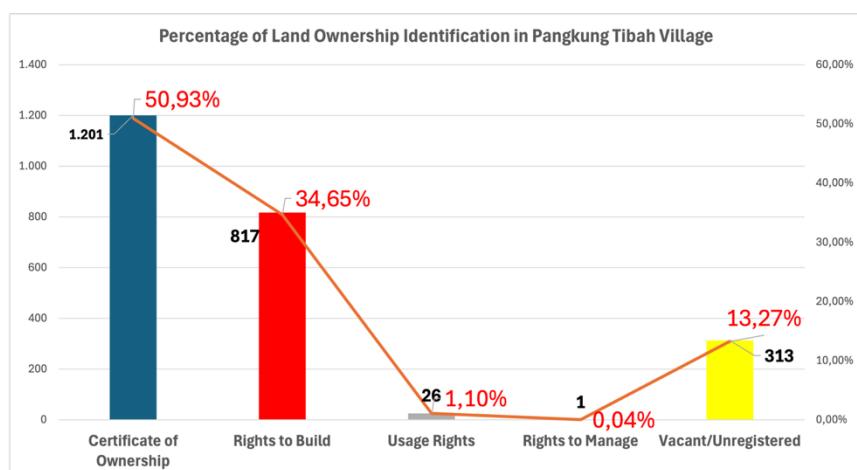


Figure 3. Land Possession in Pangkung Tibah Village by 2025. Source: Bhumi ATR BPN (2025)

Contemporary land acquisitions involve the seizure of land control through managing and exploiting land and its associated resources. In addition, it is also a consequence of the dynamics of a strategy to accumulate money that prompts investors to seek out fresh investment prospects (Pujiriyani et al., 2014). The government plays a significant role in land investment, particularly in allocating resources, notably land, on a broad scale. Additionally, contemporary land investment aims to expand productivity. Land investment exhibits a broad pattern characterized by significant governmental involvement and aims at resource allocation, particularly in land, while also focusing on increasing output. The land ownership transfer in Pangkung Tibah Village can be characterized as land grabbing, as it involves transferring land control that may lead to spatial injustice.

In short, land grabbing is an attempt by corporations to take over land and resources. Grabbing focuses on how to get those resources, which creates ownership dynamics. In other words, grabbing land, water, forests, or other public resources, which are then concentrated, privatized, and transactions centered on corporate ownership, either by purchase or lease, encourages the transformation of the agrarian labor regime (White et al., 2012). What happened in Pangkung Tibah Village can be said to be land grabbing. Land owned by peasants in the village was forcibly acquired by investors assisted by the government and the army. This phenomenon and event occurred during the New Order. However, what happened confirmed that land grabbing had occurred in this village.

Dispossession and Depeasantization Lead to Deagrarianization

Land acquisitions that result in unequal control over economic resources have at the very least, been able to change how land is used in various regions. The entry of investors and their land acquisitions in the Pangkung Tibah community have caused environmental injustice, especially in the utilization of resources. In general, the form of environmental injustice is the seizure of natural resources and living space of communities that do not have adequate power and access in the competition for coastal space. In this competition, the interests of small communities are always defeated by the interests of large-capital companies in the utilization of coastal areas (Afinnas, 2023).

Most people in Pangkung Tibah village, particularly the subsistence peasants, were involved in agricultural activities during that period. The concept of subsistence refers to a simple lifestyle focusing only on supporting oneself and ensuring survival. The ability to survive is closely related to the poverty threshold and is potentially characterized by concerns about declining agricultural output. Crop failures result in food shortages and the inability to meet non-food needs, leading to starvation. Subsistence farming households are both structural and cultural phenomena. Structural phenomena are defined by concentrated ownership and control of agricultural land, poverty, lack of knowledge, and economic and political systems that do not encourage agrarian sector growth (Muryanti, 2022). Peasants have a primary obligation to prioritize cultivating plants that sustain their livelihoods. Only once these needs are met should peasants proceed to grow crops for commercial purposes.

The peasants' rationality prevents them from engaging in activities jeopardizing their livelihood security. Furthermore, subsistence peasants heavily rely on natural conditions for their livelihoods, making agricultural ventures less susceptible to failure (Pujiriyani et al., 2018). Residents of Pangkung Tibah Village persist in depending on subsistence agriculture. Most peasants primarily earn income from agricultural activities, particularly rice production, to meet their needs. After fulfilling their food needs from the harvest, the peasants' family sells any excess to gain additional income. The excess funds from the sale are designated for secondary needs, while the residual amount is employed as capital for the forthcoming agricultural venture. The threat of crop loss persists for peasants. Peasants often encounter rats and insect pests, resulting in considerable crop losses.

Due to several internal issues plaguing their households, the peasants in Pangkung Tibah Village can be considered highly susceptible. The evolving patterns of land ownership also resulted in the growing susceptibility of agricultural households in this village. The transfer of land ownership and the failure to develop tourism regions as promised resulted in the loss of peasants' primary source of income. The emergence of capitalism and its attempts to meddle in the subsistence-based rural economy have impacted the community. As the case of Pangkung Tibah Village demonstrates, the process of capitalist expansion results in the restructuring of rural areas. Spatial reorganization facilitates the geographical expansion of a production system that follows a capitalistic model. This reorganization encompasses a broader scope than the government's concept of "spatial planning." The spatial reorganization

encompasses three key components: (a) the conceptualization and representation of space, referred to as a master plan or grand design; (b) the physical environment where we reside, known as material space; and (c) the actions and behaviors involved in shaping, utilizing, altering, and removing space to meet the requirements of the state and corporations (Rachman, 2015). Capitalist enterprises undertake this spatial reorganization to maximize profits and minimize losses.

The profits come from privatizing land and separating the producers and owners of the goods produced. The capitalist production system expands through violent operations to seize land, limit, and even make peasant communities unable to enjoy land as a resource they own. Capitalist companies even drastically and dramatically change the use of existing land and create new groups of workers who are ready to be "disciplined" by the capitalist production system at any time. The peasant subsistence system in coastal management was destroyed, as seen in Pangkung Tibah Village. The expansion of capitalist production in Pangkung Tibah Village has forced the lives of peasant communities to change. The changes in spatial conditions and land use caused by the tourism industry in this village raise concerns about their role in a capitalist production network. Tourism companies operate based on licenses granted by the government, and these licenses have become a legal basis for marginalizing and even eliminating the farming communities of Pangkung Tibah Village from their land and living space. One could argue that this situation leads to unfair utilization of economic spaces in rural regions.

A capitalist tourism company in Pangkung Tibah Village acquired productive agricultural land, transferring ownership of the means of production from peasants to new owners who want to change the land use into a tourism resort area. The loss of agricultural land owned by the farming community has also affected the dynamics of land ownership and utilization patterns. The failure to build tourism support facilities as promised by investors has caused hundreds of hectares of land previously owned by peasants to become unproductive. An outside person or group owns the land, which is considered unused. In the early 2000s, the village head asked the landowner to let the peasant community cultivate the unproductive land. The investor who owned the land approved the peasant community's request. In Pangkung Tibah Village, each banjar (community unit under the village) was responsible for managing the land. The banjars will manage or regulate the circulation of land cultivation that enters their area. The banjar sets the land rental price at one thousand five hundred to two thousand rupiah per square (currency value then). This money is a kind of retribution to the banjar. Still, the investor, the land owner, and the banjar, the supervisor, do not ask for a single cent from the results of the peasant community's agricultural activities.

This condition can be said to have caused a shift in the meaning and production process of peasant communities from peasants who own the land they own as capital and means of production to peasants with a right of superficies, which is termed as a right given either verbally or in writing to peasant to work the land without paying a penny to the land owner (Winarso, 2012). This kind of condition arises because of previous land acquisitions. Initially, peasants who sold their land received compensation for the land they had owned. However, as they met their daily living needs, the funds from the sale gradually ran out. They allocated most funds to educate their children and meet customary religious needs. After the funds from the land sale gradually dwindled and ran out, many peasants had no other option than farming. This confused the peasant community because they lost their livelihoods (Dwik, 2021, Peasant and Subak, Interview).

Under these circumstances, the peasant community, represented by the village head, requested permission to resume working on the unproductive land left unused because tourism facilities were not built. Even if the peasant community can cultivate the unproductive land, they may not be allowed to work on their former land. In addition to peasants paying levies to the banjar as supervisors, they only get random land that can be worked according to the area and their ability to pay per square meter of land. So, it is unlikely that peasants can work on their former land first. After being able to farm again, peasants still face the same obstacles as before, namely the risk of crop failure due to climate change and the persistent threat of pests such as rats and grasshoppers. Although they are not required to hand over the harvest to the landowner (investor), peasants now face a new obstacle: the uncertainty regarding when the landowner (investor) will drain the land for physical development. The land on the coastline has mostly been turned into physical buildings and has pushed aside peasants working there. The conditions in the peasant community in Pangkung Tibah Village show the phenomenon of semi-proletarianization. This phenomenon appears to be part of the release of farming communities from land control. Bernstein (2004) states that semi-proletarianization is a condition in which peasants begin to lose some control over their means of production but have not yet completely become laborers. Peasants

persist in small-scale production but must sell their labor to survive. Peasants live a double life, namely farming while working as laborers.

The emergence of the proletariat peasant resulted from the takeover of their land, which placed peasants as a social group who did not have the means of production and made them sellers of labor. Investors who promised new jobs in exchange for taking over community land have not realized what was previously promised. Peasants who no longer have land are forced to do other jobs as construction workers, traders, and so on, in addition to working on the investor's land. This proves that peasants in Pangkung Tibah Village do two jobs at once: Farming and being workers. This is in line with the statement regarding semi-proletarianization. To borrow the term accumulation by dispossession, capitalist investors take over peasant land for capital accumulation. Accumulation by dispossession is about how capital continues to extract wealth not through production, but through the theft, fraud, and violence that Marx once described as 'primitive accumulation'. This includes the commodification and privatization of land, the displacement of peasant populations, the conversion of collective property rights into exclusive private rights, the suppression of alternative (indigenous) forms of production and consumption, and the use of the credit system to extract assets (e.g., housing) from vulnerable populations (Harvey, 2003). This process of dispossession resulted in peasants being thrown out of their means of production and not immediately absorbed in industrialization or getting jobs in the core of capitalism (Novianto, 2018). In other words, these evicted peasants did not get replacement jobs from the tourism industry built in Pangkung Tibah Village. This situation caused changes in the villagers' livelihoods before they were finally allowed to work on the land that had not been developed for a long time.

Although the peasant community did not directly abandon subsistence farming and became fully non-agricultural laborers, Pangkung Tibah Village's farming community conditions can be called semi-proletarianization. Land acquisition as part of capital accumulation that caused the peasants to be separated from their means of production and forced peasants to take other jobs besides farming supports the statement of semi-proletarianization regarding this. This semi-proletarianization process can be a transition towards depeasantization. Initially, peasants lost their land and then took other jobs unrelated to agriculture. Meanwhile, depeasantization means the process in which rural households lose the ability to survive through subsistence farming, so they must find income outside the agricultural sector through migration, wage labor, or informal economic activities (Bryceson et al., 2000). The second generation of the family still fills the roles of peasantry in the village today, and even the first generation is still engaged in agricultural farming. While the third generation is no longer engaged in farming activities, they mostly work in other sectors unrelated to agriculture (Dwik, 2021, Subak and Peasant, Interview).

This can be seen from the data on the types of jobs of the Pangkung Tibah Village community recorded in the village office inventory. The highest number of jobs as peasants is 142 people, or 10 percent of the total village population. Meanwhile, the rest are private employees, 118 people (8.31%), self-employed, 49 people (3.45%), traders, 39 people (2.75%), then the rest are below 1%, namely, nurses, teachers, civil servants, and village officials (Desa Pangkung Tibah, 2025). With a relatively clear picture of the condition of peasants in Pangkung Tibah Village, who are still doing agricultural activities and who are no longer doing it, it can be said that subsistence agricultural activities can no longer meet the needs of the community due to the demands and dynamics of changing times. The third generation, who are no longer in touch with agricultural activities, further emphasizes the process of depeasantization due to the transfer of ownership of peasants' production tools, which was carried out in the past not to mention the land that is randomly cultivated by peasants which is increasingly threatened by the possibility of the land being drained for the sake of developing tourism accommodation (Meka & Nahak, 2022).

CONCLUSION

Capitalist tourism companies' control of productive lands in rural areas affects land control in rural areas. Land grabbing and transfer of ownership also contribute to divorcing peasants from their means of production. Efforts to change productive agricultural areas into tourism areas have clearly proven to threaten the subsistence economy. The peasant community in Pangkung Tibah Village is a victim of efforts to remove and change peasants into a hybrid form between peasants and laborers. They are neither completely proletarian nor completely independent. They depend on other work besides farming for their livelihoods and continue working on small plots of land. With peasants no longer having the means of production and the younger generation no longer being in touch with agricultural activities,

full-scale depeasantization is threatened. The depeasantization process can also endanger the loss of traditional farming culture and local knowledge about land management.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

This research was fully funded by the Directorate of Research and Community Service, Universitas Warmadewa, for which the author would like to express his deepest gratitude.

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